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# THE REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

## REVISED SPEECH

OF

HON. E. G. SPAULDING, OF NEW YORK,

DELIVERED AT

BUFFALO AND WASHINGTON,

AT MEETINGS HELD TO RATIFY THE NOMINATION OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND HANNIBAL HAMLIN,

FOR PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT.

Republican Platform adopted by the Chicago Convention, May 17, 1860.

*Resolved.* That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican Electors of the United States, in Convention assembled, in the discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations:

*First.* That the history of the nation during the last four years has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

*Second.* That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions; that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved; and that we reassert "these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

*Third.* That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population; its surprising development of material resources; its rapid augmentation of wealth; its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or

countenanced a threat of disunion, so often made by Democratic members of Congress without rebuke and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free Government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people strongly to rebuke and forever silence.

*Fourth.* That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political faith depends; and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

*Fifth.* That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as is especially evident in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Lecompton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas—in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons—in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and the Federal courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest, and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

*Sixth.* That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the system of plunder of the public Treasury by favored partisans;



while the recent startling developments of fraud and corruption at the Federal metropolis show that an entire change of Administration is imperatively demanded.

*Seventh.* That the new dogma that the Constitution of its own force carries slavery into any or all of the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with cotemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent; is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

*Eighth.* That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of Freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States.

*Ninth.* That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, a burning shame to our country and age; and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

*Tenth.* That in the recent vetoes by their Federal Governors of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those Territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principles of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas and Nebraska bill, and a denunciation of the deception and fraud involved therein.

*Eleventh.* That Kansas should of right be immediately admitted as a State under the Constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

*Twelfth.* That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these duties as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

*Thirteenth.* That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty; and

we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure which has already passed the House.

*Fourteenth.* That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

*Fifteenth.* That the appropriations by Congress for river and harbor improvements of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by an obligation of the Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

*Sixteenth.* That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its construction; and that, as preliminary thereto, a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

*Seventeenth.* Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmation and support.

### Remarks of Mr. Spaulding.

It is very gratifying, fellow-citizens, to witness the moral force of so large an assemblage of intelligent men in the capital of the nation. I am gratified to see that free speech is tolerated here to-night. It augurs well of the progress of the Republican cause. I congratulate you and the country that order reigns here to-night, and that we may here, in the city of Washington—the common ground of all the States—advocate the principles of republican liberty.

It was my good fortune to attend the Republican Convention at Chicago, on the 16th inst. The Convention was composed of able and upright men—indeed, I may say it was composed of some of the purest and best men in the country. It was one of the most talented Conventions ever held in this country. Full delegations assembled from all the Northern States, and from a number of the Southern States. The Convention was composed of four hundred and sixty-six members, met together to perform a patriotic and responsible duty.

The State of New York sent there a unanimous delegation of seventy good and true men to speak for her in that great assemblage of Republican freemen. Their first choice for President was that patriotic and experienced statesman, William H. Seward, known to the world as the friend of liberty and the rights of man. They urged his selection with firmness



and dignity, as a nomination fit to be made. I co-operated with this delegation to secure the nomination of Gov. Seward, who is my personal and political friend. He was my first choice. He was the choice of his native State. His friends were warm and zealous in his behalf. He was their chosen leader, who had stood firm at all times—the foremost advocate of the Republican platform. The shafts of his enemies had been heaped upon his devoted head for more than twelve years; but during all this time he stood at his post, unyielding, battling for the right, and uncompromising as the great principles of liberty upon which the Republican party is based are enduring and eternal.

While thus advocating the claims of Gov. Seward to a nomination, we did not detract at all from the merits of Republican candidates presented from other States. We went to the Convention to advocate affirmatively the merits of the favorite son of New York, not to undervalue the services of other true men in the Republican party. The merits as well as availability of the several candidates were freely discussed, and after a full and free interchange of views and feelings, the balloting commenced. On the third ballot, Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, a true and able Republican, received a majority of all the votes cast, and was chosen the standard-bearer of the Republican party in this most important crisis in the history of the Government.

The moment that a majority of the Convention declared in favor of Mr. Lincoln, the united delegation from New York, through their chairman, Mr. Evarts, moved to make the nomination unanimous. The action of the Convention was harmonious throughout, and the nomination was received with great applause by the assembled multitude.

All due respect was paid to New York as to the choice of Vice President; and when she indicated a willingness to go for Hannibal Hamlin, an eminent citizen of Maine, he was selected, with great unanimity, as the choice of the Convention for Vice President.

I admire William H. Seward for his genius and high social qualities, for his exalted statesmanship, and his fitness to discharge the duties of any position he may be called upon to fill. The people of New York love and honor William H. Seward. His friends everywhere admire his steadiness of purpose, and devotion to principle in this great struggle to preserve the inalienable rights of man; and they will continue to love and cherish him; but while cherishing William H. Seward, they will not lose sight of the CAUSE in which we are engaged.

Abraham Lincoln is an able, upright, and faithful representative of the principles embodied in the Republican platform. He has become the chosen standard-bearer of our party. He is worthy of our support and confidence. I shall give him a cordial and efficient

support. The people of the district I represent—old Erie county—supporting him as they do with great unanimity, will give him not less than 4,000 majority. The State of New York is already enlisted in the contest. William H. Seward, ever self-sacrificing for the good of the cause, has written a noble letter endorsing the nominations of Lincoln and Hamlin. This great State will give them her thirty-five electoral votes by a majority of not less than 40,000. The American party is coming in nobly to the support of the Republican platform and the ticket nominated at Chicago. In my district, where Mr. Fillmore resides, we have now a united party. All the opponents of modern Democracy now join hands to wrest the Government from the hands of the present corrupt, prodigate, and imbecile Administration.

Compromises, compacts, and pledges, have been broken by the Democratic party, led on by the slave power. The public money has been squandered. Corruption has crept into nearly every department of the public service. Disunion raises its hydra head in the capital of the nation. The American party, that has been the last to yield its assent to the necessity of unitedly resisting the aggressions of the Slave Democracy, is, I am happy to say, giving up its organization, to unite with the friends of Republican liberty, to effect a change in the administration of the Government. A change is essential to the stability of the Constitution and the Union.

We must unitedly resist the Democratic party, and redeem the country from the thralldom into which it has been placed by the action of corrupt leaders. Why should we thus unite? I answer, because the perilous condition in which the country is placed demands it.

Who is responsible for the agitation of the slavery question? Who obstruct the public business by agitation? Who threaten disunion? Who are sectional in their speeches and action? and who seek to extend the area of slavery and slave representation in Congress?

I propose briefly to answer these questions. There is a wide field for collecting material to use in this discussion, extending back for more than twenty-five years, yet I do not propose to go back of the compromise measures which were passed in 1850. The passage of the fugitive slave law; the Texas boundary bill; the donation to Texas of \$10,000,000 to purchase a peace with her, when we owed her nothing; the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia; and the admission of California as a free State—known as the “compromise measures” of 1850—were regarded as a “final adjustment and permanent settlement” of the slavery agitation in Congress. These measures were passed by the joint co-operation and votes of both Whigs and Democrats. In 1851, Democrats and Whigs entered into the follow-

ing written agreement to preserve inviolate the compromise of 1850:

"The undersigned, members of the Thirty-first Congress of the United States, believing that a renewal of sectional controversy upon the subject of slavery would be both dangerous to the Union and destructive of its objects, and seeing no mode by which such controversy can be avoided, except by a strict adherence to the settlement thereof effected by the compromise acts passed at the last session of Congress, do hereby declare their intention to maintain the said settlement inviolate, and to resist all attempts to repeal or alter the acts aforesaid, unless by the general consent of the friends of the measure, and to remedy such evils, if any, as time and experience may develop.

"And for the purpose of making this resolution effective, they further declare, that they will not support for office of President or Vice President, or of Senator or of Representative in Congress, or as member of a State Legislature, any man, of whatever party, who is not known to be opposed to the disturbance of the settlement aforesaid, and to the renewal, in any form, of agitation upon the subject of slavery.

" Henry Clay.	H. A. Bullard.
Howell Cobb.	C. H. Williams.
C. S. Morehead.	T. S. Haymond.
William Duer.	J. Phillips Phoenix.
Robert L. Rose.	A. H. Sheppard.
H. S. Foote.	A. M. Schermerhorn.
W. C. Dawson.	David Breck.
James Brooks.	John R. Thurman.
Thomas J. Rusk.	James L. Johnson.
A. H. Stephens.	D. A. Bokee.
Jeremiah Clemens.	J. B. Thompson.
Robert Toombs.	George R. Andrews.
James Cooper.	J. M. Anderson.
M. P. Gentry.	W. P. Mangum.
Thomas G. Pratt.	John B. Kerr.
Henry W. Hilliard.	Jeremiah Morton.
William M. Gwin.	J. P. Caldwell.
F. E. McLean.	R. J. Bowie.
Samuel Eliot.	Edmund Deberry.
A. G. Watkins.	E. C. Cabell.
David Outlaw.	Humphrey Marshall.
Alexander Evans.	Allen F. Owen."

In 1852, the Whig and Democratic National Conventions, which put in nomination General Scott and General Pierce for President, both approved of these measures, and agreed to them as a final settlement of the Slavery question, both in Congress and out of it. The Democratic party in their National Convention at Baltimore, in 1852, pledged themselves to the nation, as follows, to wit:

"That Congress has no power under the Constitution to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of everything appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the Constitution; that all

efforts made to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union, and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

"That the foregoing proposition covers, and was intended to embrace, the whole subject of the slavery agitation in Congress; and, therefore, the Democratic party of the Union, standing upon the national platform, will abide by, and adhere to the faithful execution of the acts known as the compromise measures settled by the last Congress, the act for the reclaiming of fugitives from service included, which act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity thereto be repealed or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

"Resolved, That we will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the slavery agitation, under whatever shape and color the attempt may be made."

And the Whig party in the same year, at the same place, resolved and pledged themselves as follows, to wit:

"That the series of measures commonly known as the compromise, including the fugitive slave law, are acquiesced in by the Whig party of the United States, as a settlement, in principle and substance, a final settlement of the dangerous and exciting questions which they embrace; and so far as the fugitive slave law is concerned, we will maintain the same, and insist on its strict enforcement, until time and experience shall demonstrate the necessity of further legislation to guard against evasion or abuse, not impairing its present efficiency; and we deprecate all further agitation of slavery questions as dangerous to our peace, and will discountenance all efforts at the renewal or continuance of such agitation, in Congress or out of it, whatever, wherever, or however the attempt may be made; and we will maintain this system as essential to the nationality of the Whig party and the integrity of the Union."

On the assembling of the Thirty-second Congress, in December, 1851, Lynn Boyd, a Southern slaveholder and Democrat, was promptly elected Speaker, without any agitation of slavery, or any filibustering for delay on the part of the Whigs, who were then in a minority. Soon after the organization of the House, the following resolutions were offered by Mr. Jackson of Georgia, and subsequently passed by the joint votes of Whigs and Democrats, viz:

"I. Resolved, That we recognise the binding efficacy of the compromises of the Constitution, and believe it to be the intention of the people generally, as we declare it to be ours



'individually, to abide such compromises, and  
'to sustain the laws necessary to carry them  
'out; the provision for the delivery of fugitive  
'slaves, and the act of the last Congress for  
'that purpose, included; and that we deprecate  
'all further agitation of the question growing  
'out of that provision of the questions embraced  
'in the acts of the last Congress known as the  
'compromise, and of questions generally con-  
'nected with the institution of slavery, as un-  
'necessary, useless, and dangerous.

"II. *Resolved*, That the series of acts passed  
'during the first session of Thirty-first Con-  
'gress, known as the compromise, are regarded  
'as a FINAL ADJUSTMENT AND A PERMANENT  
'SETTLEMENT of the questions therein em-  
'braced, and should be maintained and exe-  
'cuted as such."

The final vote was taken on these resolutions  
April 5, 1852, and among the names recorded  
in their favor, (*Congressional Globe*, pages 982,  
983,) I find Thomas S. Bocoek, Democratic  
candidate for Speaker, John S. Caskie, Henry  
A. Edmundson, Charles J. Faulkner, John  
Letcher, and Thomas H. Bayly, of Virginia;  
John S. Phelps, of Missouri; Thomas B. Flor-  
ence, of Pennsylvania; Thomas L. Clingman, of  
North Carolina; Alexander H. Stephens, of  
Georgia; Williamson R. W. Cobb, George S.  
Houston, and William R. Smith, of Alabama;  
John C. Breckinridge and R. H. Stanton, of Ken-  
tucky; Willis Allen and William A. Richard-  
son, of Illinois; Harry Hibbard, of New Hamp-  
shire; Colin M. Ingersoll, of Connecticut; Geo.  
W. Jones and Frederick P. Stanton, of Tennes-  
see; John G. Davis, C. L. Dunham, and Thomas  
A. Hendricks, of Indiana; and Moses McDona-  
ld, of Maine.

Here was a solemn promise on the part of all  
the above-named Democrats that they would  
keep the peace, and not agitate any more the  
dangerous and exciting subject of slavery. It  
was declared to be a "finality," and a "perma-  
nent settlement" of the whole subject of slavery  
agitation. This mutual bond of peace was  
given in the most solemn form between Whigs  
and Democrats, by a vote of 100 to 65. There  
was a seeming concurrence of the two great  
leading parties of the country in what had  
been done, and an apparent determination, on  
the part of both, that no subject should again  
be introduced into Congress to reopen this pro-  
lific source of discord between the different sec-  
tions of the Union.

In common with many others, I did not ap-  
prove of the fugitive slave law, the Texas  
boundary bill, nor the donation of \$10,000,000  
to Texas; but inasmuch as they had become  
established laws of the land, I tacitly acquiesced  
in them; there was a general acquiescence in  
them on the part of the people, and a disposi-  
tion to look forward with hope that our be-  
loved country would have a peaceable and  
prosperous course for many years.

How suddenly were all these promises broken!

Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Millard Fillmore,  
and a few others, agreed to this compromise in  
good faith, and would have gladly seen it ad-  
hered to, but, most unfortunately, very few of  
the men engaged in it had sufficient firmness  
to resist subsequent events.

Suddenly, and without the least necessity or  
provocation, the country was startled with a  
proposition to reopen the slavery agitation in  
a more aggravated form than ever before.  
The Kansas-Nebraska bill was introduced by  
Senator DOUGLAS, Chairman of the Committee  
on Territories, sustained as a Democratic  
measure by President Pierce, and adopted by  
Democratic and Southern Whig votes. The  
bond of peace agreed to in 1850-'51-'52, was  
broken, and broken, too, by the very men who  
had pledged themselves not again to agitate  
the slavery question. Among the members  
who had voted for the compromise resolutions,  
declaring that the adjustment should be a  
"final settlement," I find the following names  
recorded in favor of repealing the Missouri  
compromise—(*Congressional Globe*, 1854, page  
1254)—viz: Thomas S. Bocoek, John S. Cas-  
kie, Henry A. Edmundson, Charles J. Faulk-  
ner, John Letcher, and Thomas H. Bayly, of Vir-  
ginia; John S. Phelps, of Missouri; Thomas B.  
Florence, of Pennsylvania; Thomas L. Cling-  
man, of North Carolina; A. H. Stephens, of  
Georgia; W. R. W. Cobb, George S. Houston,  
and William R. Smith, of Alabama; John C.  
Breckinridge and R. H. Stanton, of Kentucky;  
Willis Allen and William A. Richardson, of  
Illinois; Harry Hibbard, of New Hampshire;  
Collin M. Ingersoll, of Connecticut; George W.  
Jones and F. P. Stanton, of Tennessee; John  
G. Davis, E. L. Dunham, and Thomas A. Hen-  
dricks, of Indiana; and Moses McDonald, of  
Maine. The final vote on the passage of the  
bill was taken in the House of Representatives  
May 22, 1854. This breach of faith broke  
down the old Whig party, nearly ruined the  
Democratic party, and threw the flood-gates of  
agitation wide open. As Mr. Fillmore justly ob-  
serves, Pandora's box was opened, and no mea-  
sure was passed so fruitful of evil as has been  
the passage of this bill. Agitation has been rife  
ever since, and no human being can foretell the  
time when fraternal feeling, concord, and har-  
mony, will again be restored to the country.  
Certainly not till the Republican party takes  
control of the Government.

Mr. Fillmore, in his patriotic letter to the  
Union Committee in New York, justly ob-  
serves:

"All must remember that in 1849 and 1850  
'the country was severely agitated on the dis-  
'turbating question of slavery. That contest  
'grew out of the acquisition of new territory  
'from Mexico, and a contest between the  
'North and the South as to whether slavery  
'should be tolerated in any part of that terri-  
'tory. Mixed up with this was a claim, on  
'the part of the slaveholding States, that the

'provision of the Constitution for the rendition of fugitives from service should be made available, as the law of 1793 on that subject, which depended chiefly on the States' officers for its execution, had become inoperative, because States' officers were not obliged to perform that duty.

"After a severe struggle, which threatened the integrity of the Union, Congress finally passed laws settling these questions; and the Government and the people for a time seemed to acquiesce in that *compromise* as a final settlement of this exciting question; and it is exceedingly to be regretted that mistaken ambition, or the hope of promoting a party triumph, should have tempted any one to raise this question again. But in an evil hour this Pandora's box was again opened by what I conceive to be an unjustifiable attempt to force slavery into Kansas by a repeal of the Missouri compromise, and the floods of evils now swelling and threatening to overthrow the Constitution, and sweep away the foundation of the Government itself, and deluge this land with fraternal blood, may all be traced to this unfortunate act. Whatever might have been the motive, few acts have ever been so barren of good, and so fruitful of evil.

"The contest has exasperated the public mind, North and South, and engendered feelings of distrust, and I may say hate, that I fear it will take years to wear away. The lamentable tragedy at Harper's Ferry is clearly traceable to this unfortunate controversy about slavery in Kansas; and while the chief actor in this invasion has exhibited some traits of character which challenge our admiration, yet his fanatical zeal seems to have blinded his moral perceptions, and hurried him into an unlawful attack upon the lives of a peaceful and unoffending community in a sister State, with the evident intention of raising a servile insurrection, which no one can contemplate without horror; and few, I believe very few, can be found so indifferent to the consequences of his acts, or so blinded by fanatical zeal, as not to believe that he justly suffered the penalty of the law which he had violated."

The Whig party North and South having been completely broken up by the perpetration of this great wrong, and the subsequent attempt of the slave power, backed up by the President of the United States, to force slavery upon an unwilling people in Kansas, and by fraud and violence to make Kansas a slave State, a new phase was given to public affairs and to the parties in the country. The Democratic party became greatly divided and distracted by this outrage, and would also have been entirely demolished, if Southern States had not rallied to the support of that party. All the Southern States, with the exception of Maryland, having gone over to the support of

the Democratic party, and the aggressions of the Southern propagandists of slavery in their attempt to send slavery everywhere, the Democratic party became essentially a Southern sectional party, inasmuch as very few public men South, of either party, could be sustained by their constituents in opposing these outrageous measures in Congress, and the frauds and rascalities committed in Kansas. All the compacts, resolutions, and agreements, to keep the peace, so recently made, having been broken, confidence was greatly impaired, indeed I may say entirely destroyed, in the Democratic party, and in this state of things a new party was formed, called the REPUBLICAN PARTY, to resist the Democratic party in its new and alarming attitude of pro-slavery aggression.

This new party was made up of Northern men from the ruins of the old Whig party, the Free-Soil Democracy and all friends of true republican liberty who desired to see the Sham Democracy overthrown, and the National Government brought back to the principles of Washington and Jefferson and the fathers of the Republic.

The Republican party recognises the right of the majority to govern, and their power to enforce that right against all attempts at disunion, come from what quarter they may. It is based upon the great fundamental principle upon which the National Government rests, that the Constitution, and all laws made in pursuance thereof, are to be faithfully observed and enforced, and it demands economy and a rigid accountability on the part of all public officers.

The Republican party insists that slavery originated in force, by the stronger against the weaker party, and not by natural right; that it is maintained and upheld by oppression and wrong, and against the law of nature. This usurped ownership in man is not that kind of property which is recognised by the general consent of mankind. The advanced state of civilized society does not recognise the right of one man to own another man against his will. The inalienable right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, is conceded to all. The right of every man to himself, to enjoy the fruits of his own ingenuity and industry, are among the natural rights of every person made in the image of God. The Constitution of the United States does not recognise any vested right of property in slaves. It treats them as *persons* held to service or labor, and not as property. The word slave does not occur in the Constitution, and I will not go one step beyond the provisions of the Constitution to uphold this usurpation and wrong.

The Republican party was organized in 1854-'55, upon the platform of liberty and independence, to maintain the union of the States and the rights of the States; freedom of speech and the press; to resist the spread



of slavery and the aggressions of the slave power; the equal rights of all persons to impartial protection at home and abroad, and in the enjoyment of religious freedom; and of all American citizens, whether native or naturalized, to the free exercise of the elective franchise and the enjoyment of its benefits; and requiring no test for office except honesty, capacity, and devotion to American institutions.

Accessions have continually been made to the Republican party, ever since its organization. It has won to the support of its principles good men, from time to time, from all the other parties, until it now embraces the best men of the country. It has become a compact and overshadowing organization, sufficiently powerful to take possession of and to administer the Government, upon the great principles of liberty, equality, and justice, as embodied in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States.

The prospect of success for any party was never more flattering. All the doubtful States are now considered certain for Lincoln and Hamlin. Illinois is waking up to the importance of the contest. Her prairies are on fire for honest old Abe, and will give a rousing majority. The same is true in regard to Indiana. The Fillmore men of 1856, in these two States, come in nobly to the support of Lincoln and Hamlin. Ohio was never doubtful for any Republican candidate. The people of Pennsylvania, the keystone State of the Union, are awake to the importance of redeeming their State from the thralldom of 1856, and the frauds and corruptions of President Buchanan's Administration. They will not be likely to play again into the hands of the Democrats by supporting any third-party candidates. In New Jersey, the Jersey Blues are organizing, and will speak for themselves in due time.

The Republican cause is onward. Every man who desires good government has an important political duty to perform, and, with a united and determined effort, the country will be redeemed from the misrule of modern Democracy.

### Extract from a Speech of Hon. Abraham Lincoln.

It will not be inappropriate for us to add to this hasty sketch an extract from one of Mr. Lincoln's extempore speeches in the campaign of 1858, which was republished in our columns a few days since, and elicited the highest encomiums from delegates and visitors from other States. The Declaration of Independence has rarely received a more thoughtful and at the same time a more glowing tribute:

"The Declaration of Independence was formed by the representatives of American liberty from thirteen States of the Confederacy, twelve of which were slaveholding com-

munities. We need not discuss the way or the reason of their becoming slaveholding communities. It is sufficient for us that *all of them* greatly deplored the evil, and that they placed a provision in the Constitution which they supposed would gradually remove the disease, by cutting off its source. This was, the abolition of the slave trade. So general was the conviction—the public determination—to abolish the African slave trade, that the provision which I have referred to as being placed in the Constitution, declared that it should *not* be abolished prior to the year 1808. A constitutional provision was necessary to prevent the people, through Congress, from putting a stop to the traffic immediately at the close of the war. Now, if slavery had been a good thing, would the Fathers of the Republic have taken a step calculated to diminish its beneficent influences among themselves, and snatch the bond wholly from their posterity? These communities, by their representatives in old Independence Hall, said to the whole world of men, 'We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' This was their majestic interpretation of the economy of the Universe. This was their lofty and wise and noble understanding of the justice of the Creator to His creatures. [Applause.] Yes, gentlemen, to *all* His creatures, to the whole great family of man. In their enlightened belief, nothing stamped with the Divine image and likeness was sent into the world to be trodden on, and degraded, and imbruted, by its fellows. They grasped not only the whole race of man then living, but they reached forward and seized upon the farthest posterity. They erected a beacon to guide their children and their children's children, and the countless myriads who should inhabit the earth in other ages. Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants; and so they established these self-evident truths, that when, in the distant future, some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxons were entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence, and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began, so that truth, and justice, and mercy, and all the humane and Christian virtues, might not be extinguished from the land; so that no man hereafter would dare to limit and circumscribe the great principles on which the temple of Liberty was being built. [Loud cheers.]

"Now, my countrymen, if you have been taught doctrines conflicting with the great

'landmarks of the Declaration of Independence; if you have listened to suggestions which would take away from its grandeur, and mutilate the symmetry of its proportions; if you have been inclined to believe that all men are *not* created equal in those inalienable rights enumerated by our chart of liberty, let me entreat you to come back. Return to the fountain whose waters spring close by the blood of the Revolution. Think nothing of me—take no thought for the political fate of any man whomsoever—but come back to the truths that are in the Declaration of Independence. You may do anything with me you choose, if you will but heed these sacred principles. You may not only defeat me for the Senate, but you may take me and put me to death. While pretending no indifference to earthly honors, I *do claim* to be actuated, in this contest, by something higher than an anxiety for office. I charge you to drop every paltry and insignificant thought for any man's success. It is nothing; I am nothing; Judge Douglas is nothing. *But do not destroy that immortal emblem of Humanity, the Declaration of American Independence.*"

#### Letter from Mr. Lincoln.

The *Illinois Staats Anzeiger* gives publicity to the following letter of Mr. LINCOLN, written about a year ago, upon a question of public policy which was then discussed in several of the States, and which is disapproved in one of the declarations of the Chicago platform:

"SPRINGFIELD, May 17, 1859.

"DEAR SIR: Your letter, in which you inquire, on your own account and in behalf of certain other German citizens, whether I approve or oppose the constitutional provision in relation to naturalized citizens which was lately enacted in Massachusetts, and whether

I favor or oppose a fusion of the Republicans with the other Opposition elements in the campaign of 1860, has been received.

"Massachusetts is a sovereign and independent State, and I have no right to advise her in her policy. Yet, if any one is desirous to draw a conclusion as to what I would do from what she has done, I may speak without impropriety. I say, then, that so far as I understand the Massachusetts provision, I am against its adoption, not only in Illinois, but in every other place in which I have the right to oppose it. As I understand the spirit of our institutions, it is designed to promote the elevation of men. I am, therefore, hostile to anything that tends to their debasement. It is well known that I deplore the oppressed condition of the blacks, and it would, therefore, be very inconsistent for me to look with approval upon any measure that infringes upon the inalienable rights of white men, whether or not they are born in another land or speak a different language from our own.

"In respect to a fusion, I am in favor of it whenever it can be effected on Republican principles, but upon *no other condition*. A fusion upon any other platform would be as insane as unprincipled. It would thereby lose the whole North, while the common enemy would still have the support of the entire South. The question in relation to men is different. There are good and patriotic men and able statesmen in the South whom I would willingly support if they would place themselves on Republican ground; but I shall oppose the lowering of the Republican standard even by a *hair's-breadth*.

"I have written in haste, but I believe that I have answered your questions substantially.

"Respectfully, yours,

"ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

"Dr. THEODOR CANISIUS."

## PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN OF 1860.

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